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Kyle D. Byron  
*Western Michigan University*

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## Free Zone Scientology: The Social Structure of a Contemporary Reform Movement

*Winner, 2014 Graduate Humanities Conference*

By Kyle D. Byron

Department of Comparative Religion

kyle.d.byron@wmich.edu

The Church of Scientology has a notorious history of controversy. The sources of this controversy stem from both the legal realm (most notably in the acquisition of the legal label of “religion” and, therefore, tax exempt status) and the social sphere, with critics from both the Christian and secular “anti-cult” movements publishing polemics against the Church. There also, however, exists a third source of criticism: self-identified Scientologists who have chosen to leave the official institution of Scientology. These understudied groups, practicing outside of the Church, are known as Free Zone Scientologists, or alternatively as Independent Scientologists. United by a belief in the discoveries of their founder, L. Ron Hubbard, these groups simultaneously hold the conviction that the institution he founded in 1952 has since misused and corrupted his teachings. While scholarly research on the Church of Scientology lags far behind that of other new religious movements, academic investigations of reform groups working against the Church are virtually non-existent. Because of this lacuna, as well as the cultural impact of Hubbard’s legacy, such groups deserve sustained attention as a legitimate piece of Scientology’s unfolding history.

Many independently operating Free Zone groups exist with no necessary homogeneity between them, and as such there is little unity between groups of reformers and no essential teachings shared among them. The earliest self-identified independent group was founded in 1950 as an auditing association, a derivation of psychotherapy used in Scientology to remove painful memories called “engrams” from one’s mind (based on Hubbard’s book *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health*).<sup>i</sup> Recently, these groups have gained popularity after several high-profile Church leaders left their positions to practice Free Zone, forcing the Church to acknowledge the movement. This acknowledgement included trademarking the use of the term “Scientology,” as well as the creation of a community to help ex-reformers—a website titled the “Freezone Survivors Association,” which states that there are “ways to survive the Free Zone and “independents” with as little damage to yourself and your family as possible.”<sup>ii</sup> Today, the largest reform group in terms of active practitioners is the International Free Zone Association, which sticks closely to the writings of Hubbard as a source of authority and practice. Other movements, though, have not held strictly to Hubbard’s writing. Many Free Zone groups disagree concerning how far one may deviate from Hubbard’s work, and if he created a closed canon or merely a foundation for further research. Those that fall into the latter groups interpret Free Zone as open-ended and have developed Hubbard’s thought in a syncretic fashion by combining Scientology’s doctrine with other religious and scientific ideas and practices.

Free Zone may be most clearly distinguished from the Church of Scientology regarding what are considered the legitimate sources of authority. Although the Church of Scientology has been cast as an individualistic movement (due to the intimate nature of auditing), practitioners may only advance to higher levels within the religion at the discretion of certified auditors. Therefore, the apparently individualistic nature of the practice is nestled within a clearly defined and strictly controlled vertical hierarchy.<sup>iii</sup> Official auditors move individuals through a series of set stages towards “Clear,” a state of perfect psychological

health and rationality. Although Dianetics, the source and earliest form of auditing, was originally popularized outside of any institutional structure, the sociologist Roy Wallis has argued that the history of Scientology can be characterized as a history of “centralizing authority” and “the exercise of greater control over the collectivity.”<sup>iv</sup>

In contrast to the rigidly defined institutional structure of The Church of Scientology, Free Zone Scientologists communicate primarily over long distances using print media and virtual communication, a phenomenon some scholars have called “cyber-religion.” According to Eileen Barker, because of the long distance between practitioners and the difficulty in enforcing orthodoxy in the lives of individual members, “the authors on most cyber-religious sites seem to subscribe to the idea that their religions are *not* seriously institutionalized.”<sup>v</sup> This creates a social structure unique to modern print and cyber-culture in which “[t]he designers of cyber-religions seem to be focusing primarily on transmission and testing of ideas and thoughts rather than promotion of sacral institutions, hierarchies, or sacraments.”<sup>vi</sup> This transmission and testing of new ideas naturally opens the door to religious innovation, and Free Zone communities have been no exception to this.

One such movement, communicating over vast distances by utilizing online communities and publications to interact with one another, centers on a quarterly publication titled *International Viewpoints*, or *IVy* for short.<sup>vii</sup> The content of *IVy* can be taken as a prime example of the continuing development of Hubbard’s works through the exegesis of Independent Scientologists. The publication is composed of submissions from its readers rather than any professional staff, and thus the preoccupations of Independent practitioners are voiced. This correspondence will be used to show how the contributing members maintain among themselves a unified notion of practice, even in instances in which such practice is scattered and fragmentary. Underlying this examination is the recognition that the participation in long-distance and online religious communities, while far from liturgical and ritual forms, is the primary act through which individual contributors to *IVy* practice their Scientology.

### International Viewpoints

*IVy* was first published in May 1991 by Antony Phillips, who refers to himself as one of the first “free scientologists” in Denmark.<sup>viii</sup> The first issue of *IVy* begins with an article titled “Welcome,” by Phillips. Here, he defines the journal as interested in Hubbard’s work but disenchanted with the Church, and, as a result, the journal’s initial contributors are unified by a desire to reform the Church of Scientology. Phillips introduces potential subscribers to his interest in increasing communication among those who have left the Church but still practice.<sup>ix</sup> However, he leaves out exactly what this entails, saying that the journal is “unpredictable because it is dependent on what our readers send in.”<sup>x</sup> Initially, the only substantive unifying declaration in the publication is a negative one—we are *not* the Church of Scientology—and, therefore, the legitimate areas of discussion have no predefined boundaries. The community responds with a highly eclectic mix of personal innovations to Hubbard’s thought, as well as articles not explicitly concerned with Scientology. The initial articles fall into two general categories: those primarily concerned with the world’s religions, and those concerned with new scientific discoveries.

Early submissions in the former category tend to espouse the virtues of various religious systems. This manifests largely in an appropriation of occult and Eastern religious ideas, and a strategic use of the distinction between institutionalized religion and sincere spirituality. Contributors do not limit themselves to the ideas of a single religious tradition; the comparison of Scientology to the traditions of Daoism, Buddhism, and the ancient, esoteric Christianities is commonplace. As such, the early community is ecumenical in nature.

Emblematic of the category of religious innovation is the January 1995 article, “Psychic [H]ealing; a [M]eans of [P]ersonal [E]xpansion,” by regular contributor Mark Jones. Jones begins by noting that auditing is meant to produce a psychic healing of sorts, so Scientologists should not deny *prima facie* the possibility of the efficacy of other forms of psychic healing. With this small disclaimer, promoting the similarity between Scientology and psychic healing, Jones says,

I have been studying and developing some abilities dealing with psychic healing in the last few months, so I’ll describe some experiences and the premises on which they are based. Since hearing about them, experiencing certain subjective changes in myself, and learning of those of others, I hope they will be of some interest to IVy readers.<sup>xi</sup>

Jones recalls how he had learned from a psychic healer in New Zealand that one could remove illnesses and physical pain by manipulating a person’s “energy,” by running their hands over the body of the subject. The teacher, we are told, could manipulate auras and had healed over 30,000 people, including an incapacitated individual in front of an audience. Jones says that he has “used this simple procedure [at home] to remove pain and immobility” from his back.<sup>xii</sup> However, the author is convinced that psychic healing can be achieved through various methods. Under the heading “Other [F]orms of [P]sychic [H]ealing,” a story is recalled of an American healer named Sherry Edwards who uses a method of accessing the “energies of the universe” through “the use of sound.”<sup>xiii</sup> Individual healers must first become attuned to the universe, after which they may achieve great results. However, Jones laments that, unlike the hand method, this approach is more difficult to teach. Nonetheless, he learned these methods in classes taken from a medium after personally experiencing their effect. After the classes, Jones notes that his first patients—even those that were initially skeptical—experienced vast improvements in the “bodily energy flows”.<sup>xiv</sup>

In this article, parallels are drawn between the healing experiences mentioned above and the experience of auditing in the Church of Scientology. The heightened states that come from psychic healing are, Jones says, reminiscent of post-auditing experiences. He concludes his article by assuring readers that psychic healing has produced noticeable changes in his life and his relationships, and by offering a full explanation of his healing methods, including “a cassette with suitable background music for \$10 or equivalent.”<sup>xv</sup>

Alongside those who espouse various religious doctrines, many contributors are interested in discussing new scientific developments. The mass appeal of the superficially understood conclusions of quantum mechanics has spawned a phenomenon referred to as “quantum mysticism.” Quantum mystics are interested in the ramifications of the quantum world, and draw conclusions based on this new field of physics that lead to new views of the spiritual world. This rudimentary understanding of quantum mechanics combined with an overarching spiritual mysticism is used to justify a host of mental powers and held up with pride by proponents as an example of science finally catching up with and explaining esoteric knowledge.

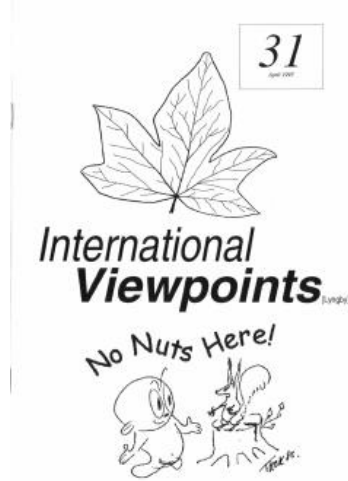


Photo: Cover of the 31<sup>st</sup> issue of *International Viewpoints* with the phrase “No Nuts Here!” referring to the term “squirrel,” used in Scientology to refer to non-orthodox practitioners (Source: <http://articles.ivymag.org/pdfs.html>).

This trend, which is often mocked by mainstream scientists as an imaginative-but-poor understanding of physics, has become increasingly popular in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These considerations are widely discussed in the liberated atmosphere of Free Zone Scientology. For example, Antony Phillips, in an article recounting an early conference in Holland, writes that, Ray [Kemp] went on to show that there needs to be a datum of comparable magnitude to O.T. [Operating Thetan] before one can fully understand it. The datum Ray used was Quantum Physics... where the physical rules as generally known, observably start to break down, and the phenomena can only be explained by introducing such items as “Alternate Universes,” “Time is a consideration,” and “Particles are only located in space by the prior creation of that space”.<sup>xvi</sup>

Shortly after this summary, Phillips concludes,

During the break a couple of attendees, who had an existing background in Quantum Mechanics, got into an animated discussion, talking entirely in mathematical formula and filling the blackboard with equations.<sup>xvii</sup>

Given the inaccessible nature of this conversation to most of the attendants, Ray Kemp contributed an article in a later issue detailing his findings for the non-physicists and arguing that quantum mechanics holds the key to faster access to higher OT levels, or higher points on the scale of spiritual advancement in Scientology.



Photo: Cover the 81<sup>st</sup> issue of *International Viewpoints*, containing a photo of Gautama Buddha and the words “Zen and Scientology” (Source: <http://articles.ivymag.org/pdfs.html>).

Because of the precarious and shifting nature of doctrine in online communities, little can be taken from these articles in terms of any unified creed. No official unifying statement is created by Independents drawing on Scientology, psychic healing, alternative physics or other proposed practices. However, the nature of the conversation can tell us about the individual’s perceived role within the Free Zone community. Early on, *IVy* provides an opportunity for practitioners to broadcast their religious and scientific discoveries without being labeled “heretics,” or, as they are commonly referred to by the Church of Scientology, “suppressive persons.” Not only would many of the articles’ considerations be outside of the Church’s official definition of orthodoxy, but the size of the Church, along with its highly developed bureaucratic structure, guarantees that no single lay-practitioner’s experiments or discoveries would come to have notable influence. Within the context of the relatively small and undefined Free Zone community, however, such experiments may take center stage.

Due to the emphasis placed on individual discovery, on testing, and on the dissemination of new and innovative practices, contributors can be seen as engaged in a form of religiosity coined by scholars of new religious movements as “seekership”. Seekership entails the adoption of a

“problem-solving perspective while defining conventional religious institutions and beliefs as inadequate.”<sup>xviii</sup> Alternatively, sociologists of religion John Lofland and Rodney Stark define seekers as persons “searching for some satisfactory system of religious meaning to interpret and resolve their discontent.”<sup>xix</sup> The rejection of the Church of Scientology, along with the adoption of independent practice, can be considered one form of the perceived inadequacy of conventional religious institutions and, therefore, the examples from *IVy* used above are attempts at “problem-solving.” Psychic healing and quantum mechanics have no necessary connection. However, in presenting their findings to other Independent Scientologists for consideration, Ray Kemp and Mark Jones are seeking *together*. Despite having different personal goals, *IVy* contributors are united by a shared desire to continually discover, refine, propose, and accept or reject any idea even marginally related to Scientology.

### Coping With Institutional Precariousness

Not every contributor, however, fits neatly under the label of seeker. The first exception to this open dialogue on all things religious and scientific comes in the sixth issue and anticipates a question that will soon permeate the publication. In the sixth issue of *IVy*, Terry E. Scott asks whether non-Scientology “knowledge” should be considered by “Free Scientology” publications.

In my opinion, an underlying unity - such as the Tech - is essential if there are to be benefits from the diversities. I am not proposing to limit freedom of ideas or investigation. Far from it. I advocate interest in speculative areas - even whacky ones might bring results some day. But diversity without discipline might broaden the contents of Independent publications so much that the Tech might take a back seat. If that were to happen, at least some Free Zone journals could become like certain New Age periodicals: woolly.<sup>xx</sup>

The argument that the incorporation of these speculations will lead to the journal becoming “woolly,” or lacking in substance, akin to other New Age publications—although the author has no problem with New Age ideas and regularly practices astrology—raises the new question of the degree to which *IVy* is actually concerned with Scientology. The journal’s unifying conception, which Scott identifies broadly as the “Tech,” or Study Technology (method for applying Scientology), but which we may call Hubbard’s thought in general, will gradually sink into the undifferentiated world of astrology, U.F.O.s, palm readings, and astral projection. He continues:

Well...in our Independent (Free Zone) Movement, writers in various publications are diversifying into areas such as channeling (known to some as spiritualism), clairvoyance, Christianity, and much else.

All very interesting. I have some curiosity about the true origins of Christianity, occasionally amaze myself with a telepathic -zap!-, am well versed in astrology, and take a passing interest in the mathematics of the Great Pyramid. But I keep them separate from the Tech.<sup>xxi</sup>

For a little more than a year the question concerning what unifies the group becomes of primary concern to *IVy* contributors, overshadowing a previous emphasis on the presentation of discoveries. This concern is initiated in an article titled “Whither, Scientology,” by the German Free Zone Scientologist Ulrich, which questions the nebulous boundaries of the group. Ulrich (who will soon pose his own standard for Free Zone Scientologists) begins with a critical remark.

Now, is there such a ‘group’ at all? I can’t see it. 14 issues of IVy have evidenced the fact that ‘free scientology’ is not carried forward by a unified or homogeneous group but consists of many separate ones.<sup>xxii</sup>

Ulrich is not the first to raise this critique against the community (as noted above in the sixth issue), but he is the first to propose a unifying standard in response. It consists of a more explicit adherence to the definition of the group as “people who agree on some basic principles, which I regard as scientology.”<sup>xxiii</sup> After noting the eclectic series of ideas and practices that have been proposed by contributors—“psychotherapy, shamanism, ‘esoteric’ healing techniques”—Ulrich suggests the creation of an “admin scale,” a system designed to organize a group of individuals.<sup>xxiv</sup> In *Scientology 0–8*, L. Ron Hubbard remarks that the admin scale should be used to determine the “sequence (and relative seniority) of subjects relating to organization.”<sup>xxv</sup>

Ulrich proposes a whole standardized system from training qualifications, certifications for auditors, steps on the path to “Clear” and, finally, standards for the verification of a person’s “Clear” state. All of these standards are, from the perspective of the Free Zone, associated with the bureaucratization and corruption of Hubbard’s work by the Church. The only notable difference between this system and the standards of the original Church of Scientology is Ulrich’s recommendation that this be based on “actual result—instead of by enforcing such agreement by heavy promotional campaigns.”<sup>xxvi</sup> Even with this new foundation, the call for greater institutionalization is taken by most as an unwelcome intrusion on the egalitarian periodical.

In the same issue, published in April 1994, the attempt at standardization is further complicated. Motivated by the aforementioned controversy, Phillips polled contributors about their goals for the community. The sixteenth issue of IVy presented the results by way of thirty-eight suggestions for group goals. These ranged from vague aspirations, to ambitious and worldwide goals, to a small number of mid-range goals that entailed “groups of people meeting together on a regular basis at one another’s homes to share ideas and use their knowledge of Tech to help one another”; as well as a further prompt from Ulrich: “See my most recent article: we need an admin scale for scientology.”<sup>xxvii</sup>

While the poll established no concrete goal, criticism of the group’s loose boundaries continued. In the twentieth issue, Ulrich submits another article titled “A Puzzled Reader.” He opens, “There are times when I fail to understand what Ivy has to do with scientology, what with all sorts of new, strange and unexplained processes, rundowns and seemingly scientological offspring popping up all over the place.”<sup>xxviii</sup> Citing a now standard list of alternative and New Age practices advocated in previous issues, Ulrich wonders what any of this has to do with “good old LRH-style auditing.”<sup>xxix</sup> This concern had been raised in earlier issues: to what extent is lack of authority an impediment to the success of the movement? His solution:

Anyone who deems it necessary to use ‘other tech’, such as alternative approaches, mixed approaches, or new OT levels, in a word, anything that goes beyond the basic tools mentioned above, ought to be held to explain why it is necessary to do so.<sup>xxx</sup>

Furthermore, Ulrich gives an actual formula for future submission, including a statement of the problem, the data, and the solution—as well as an explanation of why the solution is necessary if it is not Scientology, or why auditing was unable to fix the problem. He stops short of explicitly limiting the practices that can be used to achieve solutions, and thereby avoids setting explicit boundaries on orthodoxy. However, since he has yet to find a problem that Scientology cannot solve, Ulrich implies that a stricter “scientific” standard will naturally filter out the practices that can be considered unorthodox.<sup>xxxi</sup>

Each of these figures is reacting to the overrunning of ideas traditionally associated with Scientology by unrestricted seekership, and proposes to the group a means by which they can more strictly self-organize. However, by suggesting doctrinal limits in reaction to the loosely defined nature of IVy, contributors also introduce friction into an otherwise inclusive community. The struggle caused by the conflicting visions of Free Zone Scientology culminated in a change to the journal's "Aim" section at the beginning of each issue. After repeated failure by some contributors to impose stricter guidelines on orthodoxy, IVy officially embraced the role of the seeker. Prior to March 2006, the official aim of the journal was as follows:

In 1934 the book *Scientologie* by A. Nordenholz was published. In the middle of the twentieth century the subject of Scientology was greatly expanded as a philosophy and technology by L. Ron Hubbard and a big band of helpers. This band coalesced into the Church of Scientology, which became a little secretive, restrictive, expensive and slightly destructive. From 1982 on, many left or were thrown out of that church, and continue to use and develop the philosophy and technology.

It is this large subject that *International Viewpoints* deals with, and it is our aim to promote communication within this field. We are independent of any group (sect).<sup>xxxii</sup>

With the seventy-sixth issue, the aim was changed:

The aim of *International Viewpoints* is to relay communication amongst those interested in the positive use of MetaScientology. MetaScientology encompasses the many groups, individuals, and teachings arising from the study of Scientology, starting with the Nordenholz book *Scientologie: Wissenschaft von der Beschaffenheit und der Tauglichkeit des Wissen* [Scientology: Science of the Constitution and Usefulness of Knowledge] of 1934, through the present. This includes many groups which arose, especially after the events of 1980. *International Viewpoints* deals with this large arena. We relay many viewpoints, sometimes opposing. (We have no connection with the current official Scientology.)<sup>xxxiii</sup>

The original declaration contains a short history of the rise of Scientology, and the reasons that the Free Zone Scientologists cite for breaking with the Church. The focus of the statement is on separating IVy from the Church of Scientology, and although the goal of increasing communication among Scientologists is cited, no specific account is given of what this may include or exclude. The new "Aim" is the result of over a decade of correspondence between members. It begins with a statement of the function of *International Viewpoints*, that is, to put interested Independent Scientologists in communication with one another. The subject, however, is now changed to "MetaScientology." By defining the focus of IVy as the "many branches, groups, and individuals arising from Scientology," the contributors have sterilized the issue of definition that was of such concern during the early years. Meanwhile, the inclusion of opposing viewpoints normalizes the disagreements which originally caused so much friction.

### Seeking in Cyberspace

It would appear that there is little unity to be found within the community of IVy, and that attempts to unify the group have been greatly resisted or simply ignored. Along with this disunity, though, Independent practice may be categorized on the whole as a propensity to discover and share practices rather than to enact them. Individuals do not see themselves as following a particular plan for success, but as constantly searching for a more refined set of



practices. This collective search constitutes the primary goal of *IVy* contributors. For Phillips, Jones, and other regular contributors, being an Independent Scientologist involves the sincere pursuit of a more effective implementation of Hubbard's thought. In *IVy*, a religious institution created within the new medium of cyberspace, collective participation in the search for "truth" becomes the primary duty.

*IVy*, far from being viewed merely as a medium to discuss ideas, has allowed for a form of religious expression unique to online seekership. Furthermore, *IVy* has rejected traditional religious institutions in favor of what sociologist Colin Campbell calls "permanent seekership". Campbell argues that groups of seekers "may in fact have lost sight of their original aim, and through the 'displacement of goals' have come to accept seeking itself as the primary end."<sup>xxxiv</sup> The permanent seeker engages in experiments, shares research and experiences, and attends conferences to disseminate his or her ideas and test the ideas of others. Motivated both by the loosely structured online religious world and a stubborn refusal to strictly regulate practices (as the Church of Scientology has), Phillips has maintained a remarkably non-hierarchical community. Above all else, In Free Zone Scientology the willingness to self-experiment in an attempt to discover new, more effective practices trumps any commitment to the effectiveness of any existing practices, or to the authority of any particular institution.

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- <sup>i</sup> This movement, the California Association of Dianetic Auditors, is not properly a Scientology reform movement, since it predated the Church by more than two years. However, after the Church formed the Association held a position very similar to other post-Scientology reform movements, claiming to be the "Oldest Independent Dianetic Organization in existence" (*California Association of Dianetic Auditors*. <http://ca-da.org/whoweare/whoweare.html> [accessed 08/15/13]).
- <sup>ii</sup> "Who We Are." *Free Zone Survivors Association*. <http://www.fzsurvivors.com/> (accessed 08/01/13).
- <sup>iii</sup> Peter Andersen and Rie Wellendorf, "Community in Scientology and Among Scientologists" in *Scientology*, 144.
- <sup>iv</sup> Roy Wallis, *The Road to Total Freedom: A Sociological Analysis of Scientology*, 17.
- <sup>v</sup> Eileen Barker, "Crossing the Boundary: New Challenges to Religious Authority and Control as a Consequence to Access to the Internet" in *Religion and Cyberspace*, 55.
- <sup>vi</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>vii</sup> The only exception to the categorization of IVy as a long-distance community is an annual conference held with the goal of discussing and developing Free Zone Scientology.
- <sup>viii</sup> Phillips, Antony A. "Welcome." *International Viewpoints* 1 (May 1991): 3.  
<http://ivymag.org/welcome.html> (accessed 07/15/13).
- <sup>ix</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>x</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xi</sup> Jones, Mark. "Psychic [H]ealing; a [M]eans of [P]ersonal [E]xpansion." *International Viewpoints* 20 (January 1995): 22. <http://articles.ivymag.org/ivy/iv-20-12.html> (accessed 07/15/13).
- <sup>xii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xv</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Phillips, Antony A. "Two European Conferences." *International Viewpoints* 3 (November 1991): 22. <http://www.clearing.org/cgi/archive.cgi?/ivy/iv-03-11.txt> (accessed 07/15/13).
- <sup>xvii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Colin Campbell, *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization*, 10.
- <sup>xix</sup> Jones' article on psychic healing contains a further parallel with one type of seeker noted by Lofland and Stark. They note that some "began to explore the occult milieu, reading the voluminous literature of the strange, the mystical and the spiritual and tentatively trying a series of such occult groups as Rosicrucians, Spiritualists and the various divine sciences" (Lofland, John and Rodney Stark. "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective." *American Sociological Review* 30, no. 6 (December 1965): 862-75.). The primary difference between seekers involved in IVy and the seekers described by Lofland and Stark is that IVy serves as a consistent group to test ideas, while seekers often regularly move between groups with defined boundaries.

<sup>xx</sup> Scott, Terry E. "Diversification." *International Viewpoints* 6 (May 1992): 11.  
<http://articles.ivymag.org/ivy/iv-06-06.html> (accessed 07/15/13).

<sup>xxi</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xxii</sup> Ulrich. "Wither, Scientology." *International Viewpoints* 16 (April 1994): 7.  
<http://www.freezoneamerica.org/ivy/articles/ivy/iv-16-04.html> (accessed 07/15/13).

<sup>xxiii</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xxv</sup> L. Ron Hubbard, *Scientology 0—8: The Book of Basics*, 347.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Ulrich. "Wither, Scientology." *International Viewpoints* 16 (April 1994): 7.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Examples of vague goals include: "Prime goal—to widen the horizons of members—plus other goals"; "To help all people reach their goals"; "Getting together and Bringing together"; "Sharing: Joy, for one and all, clarity, acceptance and allowing." More concrete, yet equally ambitious goals include: "To clear the planet" and "Freedom, full OT, wow!!" (Phillips, Antony A., ed. "Goals [S]uggestions." *International Viewpoints* 16 (April 1994): 5. <http://www.freezoneamerica.org/ivy/articles/ivy/iv-16-02.html> (accessed 07/15/13).

<sup>xxviii</sup> Ulrich. "A Puzzled Reader." *International Viewpoints* 20 (January 1995): 18.

<http://www.freezoneamerica.org/ivy/articles/ivy/iv-20-09.html> (accessed 07/15/13).

<sup>xxix</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xxx</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Or more specifically, that cannot be solved by "the combination of tech, admin, and ethics" (Ibid.).

<sup>xxxii</sup> Phillips, Antony A. "IVy's aim." *International Viewpoints* 21 (April 1995): 2.

<http://articles.ivymag.org/pdf/IVy21.pdf> (accessed 07/15/13).

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Phillips, Antony A. "IVy's aim." *International Viewpoints* 76 (March 2006): 2.

<http://articles.ivymag.org/pdf/IVy76.pdf> (accessed 07/15/13).

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Colin Campbell, *The Cultic Milieu: Oppositional Subcultures in an Age of Globalization*, 13.